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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the notion of reciprocal school-community development in Third World countries. Information on village schools in Sri Lanka and Senegal were gathered from interviews and observation. Tanzania is an example of a country that took radical steps to integrate schools within their respective communities in order to foster rural development. Studies in Sri Lanka and Senegal, as well as research in a variety of countries drawn from the literature, tend to show that successes in terms of reciprocal school-community development are limited. There is very little empirical evidence to link formal schooling in disadvantaged areas with community development in the sense of increased agrarian output, improved health, nutrition and housing, more equitable access to land and water, creation of new employment, or other such indicators. Village factionalism and traditional attitudes serve as inhibiting forces; but more commonly, perceived shortcomings have been a matter of unrealistically high expectations of schools in deprived areas. The village school can serve to enhance the development of individuals, providing them with literacy, numeracy and varied kinds of general knowledge. The community has shown in many case studies that it is willing and able, if properly encouraged and motivated, to support the school in diverse ways, more often through labor contributions. (21 references) (KS)

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INTEGRATION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY FOR RECIPROCAL DEVELOPMENT

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INTEGRATION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY FOR RECIPROCAL DEVELOPMENT

Introduction.

The notion of reciprocal school-community development in Third World countries has been around for many decades. Particularly during the great drive to increase enrollment by the emergent nations in the 50s and 60s, it was believed that schooling could lead to economy-enhancing miracles. Moreover, formal education was also thought to perform other development-supportive functions: helping curb population growth and improving health standards by disseminating knowledge and rationality; and giving the poor an opportunity for upward mobility, thus serving to promote social equality. The communities where the schools were located, too, were seen to have a potential for setting up and supporting the rural schools in many ways - especially through volunteer labor from the parents. Thus the idea of the school developing the community, and the community developing the school, in a reciprocal relationship for the betterment of all, could be found in many projects and programs.

This paper treats the question of reciprocal school-community development by examining the results of empirical studies, particularly those carried out in disadvantaged rural areas of developing countries. It first presents the findings from the author's empirical research in Sri Lanka and Senegal with regard to this matter. The succeeding section gives the results of a literature research involving a number of developing countries. Here the success or failure of these countries to enhance reciprocal development of their communities and schools through their educational programs is reviewed.

Findings in a Sri Lankan district.

In the period from October 1983 through October 1985 I spent sixteen months in a disadvantaged dry-zone district of Sri Lanka, living in one remote village, working as a teacher in the school, and visiting thirty

randomly selected village schools. At the same time, an assistant carried out case studies of one month each in six villages of different types. (It can be noted that the Singalese-Tamil ethnic strife did not affect the Singalese area in question.) The results of this lengthy and comprehensive research are reported elsewhere (see Baker 1988). For the purpose of the present paper and the relevant Sri Lankan findings, reciprocal school-community development was defined as a two-way development process:

(a) Possible indicators for the community developing the school are those typically connected with activities of the School Development Society (formerly Parent-Teacher Association) and School Week, e.g. erecting a temporary school building, teachers' quarters or shrine room; maintaining the building, fence, premises, road; collecting funds and giving material to the school; organizing a nutritional program; starting a school farm; or having parents give talks and demonstrations in their own areas of competence.

(b) Possible indicators for the school developing the community cover broadly the imparting of knowledge, especially functional literacy and numeracy. Further, 'nowledge and skills which can be directly useful for employment or 'the world of work' may be counted among such indicators. More direct community development possibilities can be found in school projects such as the organization of a health workshop, the setting up of nonformal classes to be held in the school, or an active cooperation with the Rural Development Society. It should be mentioned that the contributions of the school toward community development are extremely difficult to identify and measure on the short term.

For the 30-school survey part of the research, in-depth interviews were held with the principals, along with observations at these schools. Some assessment of school and community involvement was intended to be made by asking questions regarding community use of the school building and grounds, the activities of the School Development Society, integration of the school and the village Buddhist temple, and the impact of various government programs.

In small rural villages the school is often the only public building in

the village; thus it naturally occurs that gatherings and activities take place there. Such was the case with most of the schools visited (27): the building was the meeting place for the Rural Development Society and for distributions, health programs and religious functions. In many instances the premises were used in the afternoons for volleyball games, or the school well was used by neighbors. Most principals were in agreement that such added functions of the school are positive.

The functioning of the School Development Society (SDS) can be a strong indicator of community or parental involvement in the school. The list of activities performed, initiated or sponsored by the SDSs was impressive, although it can be assumed that these are outstanding and often one-time activities rather than regularly occurring ones. In many instances the school has a relatively small core of interested and active parents, thus a productive SDS does not necessarily mean widespread community involvement. Still the number of projects carried out by the parents, notwithstanding the apathy of some principals, would tend to indicate that there is sufficient enthusiasm for school support from within the community. If effectively tapped by the staff, this support can be used for school maintenance, also having potential for building up the school's facilities and equipment.

Among the 30 schools, the following frequencies of activities by the SDSs were spontaneously mentioned by the principals:

- Erecting a temporary school building or teachers' quarters — 12 times
- Maintaining the building, fence, premises, road, etc. — 6
- Collecting funds and giving material to the school — 6
- Making furniture — 5
- Making a fence, playground area or school well — 5
- Organizing activities and programs — 4
- Building a shrine room — 2

The island-wide School Week held each year and propagated by the Ministry of Education Services, provides an opportunity for school and community to work together in a program of maintenance and school improvement stipulated in a circular. Suggestions are made for a day-to-day plan for a week of work by teachers, children and parents, ended by a community-school festivity on Friday. The accomplishments during School Week by the schools in the survey include many of the same kinds of activities carried out by the School Development Societies. Among the more common contributions were cleaning and weeding. Although the majority of the principals thought School Week was useful, some complained that it wasted a week of school on matters that should be taken care of anyway in a well-run school; and a few complained that there was little parental participation.

The cooperation between the school and the Buddhist temple was considered to be frequent and positive in half of the twenty schools with a temple in their village, the others stating there was little or no interaction. In one of the comparative case studies, where there was an extremely active Buddhist head priest in the temple, the school and temple worked together with the Rural Development Society to perform numerous activities related directly to village development: road maintenance, digging wells, gaining loans for farmers and funds for the construction of irrigation tanks, starting a nursery school and a Sunday School (see Baker 1988:163-171). Such cooperation, however, appears to be exceptional.

Nine schools in the sample had been included in the government/UNICEF sponsored Small Schools Programme of the mid-1970s, designed to specifically help needy schools with less than 100 pupils by integrating school and community. Two had had the special focus of a Small Schools Workshop. When the principals of these schools were asked what had been the impact or the benefits of this program, only the two with the past workshops commented positively. The others said there had been little impact and few or no advantages in the area of fostering community-school integration. They mentioned the UNICEF Kit with consumable goods (e.g. watercolor boxes, colored chalk, wax crayons,

construction paper) as well as durable goods such as tools and a kerosene burner, as the only real contribution of the program. Four of the schools received a bicycle and a radio from the Small Schools Programme. In most of the nine Programme schools, only bits and pieces of the durable equipment can be found today, some having been lost or having "disappeared with earlier principals." Only one cycle and one radio of the four are present and usable, the others being broken and unused or being reportedly "with a former headmaster."

A direct question regarding the principals' opinions on reciprocal school-community development was also asked during the interviews. The majority felt that the school does more to develop the community - albeit in an indirect manner - than the community does to develop the school. Educating the villagers so that they can get better jobs or be better leaders or have a more fulfilling life were the most frequently mentioned kinds of examples. A few told of specific contributions through the school, such as building up a house that had burned down, or a principal gaining housing, wells and a road for his village. One told that now almost every house has a latrine of some sort due to propaganda spread through the school. From the community side, free-labor projects for the school and the School Development Society activities were reiterated. While half the principals were optimistic about possibilities for the school and the community to develop one another, the other half either had vague ideas about how development might be possible or felt that there cannot be reciprocal school-community development. "They may have become a bit more civilized through education," said one. Another noted that perhaps the school can help advise in certain community projects or perhaps there is now more cleanliness in the houses. Four principals were pessimistic: "Education has not changed these people at all; the illiterate villagers are doing the same as all the others." Several gave examples of relatively well-educated villagers who are unable to put their education to use, neither to benefit the community nor themselves.

When all the data is tallied it may be said that a wide range of activities are performed by the rural communities in support of the

school - more than enough to conclude that the parents and other village inhabitants are ready and able to do a great deal. The activities are mostly those which compensate for a lack of funds from the government for sufficient facilities and maintenance. A dedicated principal is usually able to tap community (and perhaps district-level) resources for developing the school.

The other side of the coin, namely the role of the school in fostering rural development in its community, remains a more elusive concept. It may be concluded from this Sri Lankan study that the village schools - as they now operate with their present set-up and curriculum, and in their setting of poverty where economic development has barely gained a foothold - are not in a position to foster rural development; or at best they are only in a position to make a marginal contribution. This can be concluded for all the schools, including those labeled in the research as 'promising.' The latter schools prepare children relatively well to read, write, do arithmetic and pass state examinations. They prepare children to compete to some extent for the scarce clerical or government jobs so that a few may rise above their village beginnings. The knowledge gained will only be marginally helpful for most of the school leavers in terms of boosting them financially. It could well be hypothesized that the school fosters a 'brain drain' from the village, helping the creative and intelligent members to move on to an urban setting, or that it fosters disillusionment, for those who studied well may now be jobless and feel they are above a life of tilling the soil.

Findings in a rural village in Senegal.

In the summer of 1989 I did another participant observation study of education - this time in a remote Mandinka village in south central Senegal. Netteboulou has a population of about 1000 inhabitants living in 70 compounds. The villagers are proud of the fact that they have a school, dating from 1933, which has been the source throughout the years for a number of especially capable and ambitious people to leave the peasant way of life, gaining employment in government service or

business. A few have become influential in the network of friendship politics, and relative to many villages in the area, Netteboulou has witnessed some progress - in part due to the influence of its educated native sons. The school has grown, the Rural Development Society has attracted subsidized projects, the Women's Society now runs a small diesel-powered grain mill, a simple health center staffed by a government paramedic has been set up, and most recently, an incongruous looking modern telephone booth has been placed in the village square opposite the mosque, while a telephone satellite tower looms above the thatch-roofed huts. Further modern conveniences are non-existent, and the traditional lifestyle has changed very little since the founding of the village some hundred years ago.

The school presently has 186 pupils in six grades (131 boys, 55 girls, reflecting the traditional Muslim attitudes that education is less important for girls), with a director and five male teachers from other areas of the country and from different ethnic groups; none of the latter are of the village's Mandinka group. As the official language for education is French, the director and the teachers converse in that language and share a close camaraderie in their isolated post. Even though the education medium is French, however, the level of language proficiency in the six years of elementary school is low, as was reflected in the essays which I requested of the 5th and 6th graders. It is a rare student from the Netteboulou school who is able to pass the national examination at the end of the 6th grade and continue on to high school, although there have been some shining success stories in the six and half decades of the school's history.

The research included lengthy (1-1½-hour) half-structured interviews with 16 men and 16 women of varied age groups and social statuses ('nobles,' leather-workers, smiths, griots and 'slaves,' i.e. all of the village's caste-like groups were represented). Additionally, the teachers, the paramedic, and my local interpreter were all interviewed extensively. The 40 interviews, supplemented by school observations and pupil essays, provide a wealth of qualitative data on varied subjects to be reported elsewhere. Among the relevant questions handled in the

interviews were those regarding the activities of the Association of Parents of Pupils; and an opinion question asking whether the school helps develop the village (and how), and whether the village helps (or can help) develop the school.

Though most of the men answered that they were members of the Association of Parents (the women are not members and cannot attend meetings), it became apparent in the interviews that the Association was not very active. Answers were rather vague about the regularity of meetings and even about the activities carried out in the past few years. "A meeting is called whenever the need arises, such as to discuss the corporal punishment of a child," said one parent. Several others alluded to activities such as helping prepare a school garden, digging the hole for a school latrine, and helping out with the school 'cantine,' a program whereby children, especially those who come from other villages, can have their lunch at school for a nominal sum. Evidence of the Association's activities was as sparse as the number of activities named by the respondents. The success of the school garden appeared to be minimal; in any event, the labor input came from the pupils and not from the parents. Making the school latrine was a one-time event in which only a few parents participated. And the success of the 'cantine' was due to the fact that the government supplies canned meat to be included with the simple cous-cous midday meals. It was whispered by one parent that the director eats the garden produce and the cantine food and does not want the parents to know what's going on at school; hence the scarce requests for parental involvement. Although gradual changes are being made, the women in this Muslim society are accustomed to staying out of the public sphere.

Like in the Sri Lankan villages, the respondents were unable to come with many ideas of how the community can help the school. Only 13 of the 32 parents offered specific examples of how they could directly help the school. Seven mentioned helping with repairs of buildings and furniture and four mentioned work in the cantine. The piles of broken and unusable furniture stacked in the back of several of the classrooms, together with the extreme shortage of tables and chairs for pupils, would

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indicate that very little parental help has been solicited for repair work. "They don't have the means," was the reason given by the director, who also asserted that the newer furniture had been of such poor quality that it could not be repaired when broken. A few parents also mentioned help with maintaining the school grounds and in constructing a chicken coop. The latter was a recently failed project intended to bring income to the school through sale of eggs and chickens. "We had all the materials to construct the coop, but we could not get enough volunteers to provide the labor," told one of the teachers.

A number of the parent respondents were more vague in their ideas of what the village can do. Three said they should support the teachers and do whatever they ask. By far the largest number of respondents gave answers that related more to their interaction with their own children. Twelve parents said spontaneously that the best support they can give is to send (all) their children to school and encourage them to study. Another three mentioned giving their children a good upbringing and disciplining them, and a couple of others said they should buy them the needed school supplies. One said the parents should give their children a little pocket money to buy a snack in the cantine, "to give them the courage to study." An interesting comment was made by a mother: "The best support the parents can give the school is to take their children to the marabout and get them a gri-gri for the child to become intelligent." This rather expensive ceremony involves the marabout writing special koranic lines in charcoal on a piece of wood, then washing it off, putting the water and ashes in a bottle. A small amount of this water is to be drunk each day or spread on the skin to insure scholastic success.

The reverse side of the matter - how the school develops the village - provided more positive answers than in the Sri Lankan cases. As stated at the beginning of this section, Netteboulou has one of the oldest schools in the area. Much of the advancement of the village was credited directly or indirectly to the school. Fourteen respondents (38%) mentioned right away that through the years there have been many examples of students who have gone on to successful jobs in government

or politics, who in turn have brought progress to the village. "Through education we have gained some learned people who now represent our village," said one. In several instances a list was named of prominent individuals: the director of a school, a professor, a police commissioner, a government factory chief. In reality it seems to be that several enterprising businessmen (some with rather shady dealings) have become relatively wealthy and have made influential friends in high places, who in turn favor the village with minor development projects. Another four respondents mentioned the fact that the village now has better houses, and a few people have motorbikes. In fact it is the houses of the wealthier enterprisers which have improved. Though literate, these businessmen, for the most part, do not have an education beyond a few grades.

Eight parents mentioned less tangible types of development: 3 spoke of improving health and sanitation through education; 2 noted agricultural skills and 'civic learning;' and there was incidental mention of "becoming civilized," introduction of new ideas brought by the teachers, and not being in a vulnerable position to be exploited. One of the parents as well as several of the teachers stressed that the process of village development had been very slow. They added, however, that without the school it would be even slower or nonexistent. In many ways Netteboulou resembles the older Sri Lankan villages where the school is stagnating under mediocre leadership, but where a few ambitious individuals, either through connections or through their own contributions, are able to foster some economic advancement in their hometown.

Comparisons with other developing countries.

Reciprocal interaction of school and community was the subject of a workshop organized by the London University's Department of Education in Developing Countries in 1982, for which Bacchus wrote a general introductory paper. Here he refers to the efforts of Cuba, China and Tanzania in integrating school and community learning, pointing out that

their relative success in this area was due to more than the introduction of a new educational program and instructional strategy. In these countries there were accompanying political, economic and social changes made, having ideological support for these changes among key elements of the population, as well as radical reform of the educational administrative structure to ensure community involvement. At the same time steps were taken to prevent the emergence of a dualist school system to cater to different sections of the population (Bacchus 1982:12). He also refers to the many failures throughout educational history in getting farmers through integrated schools to increase their skills and improve their quality of life in their existing communities. These he attributed to the "structural disincentives" that militate against keeping the rural population on the farms (Bacchus 1982:13).

Of the three countries mentioned above, Tanzania lends itself well for a closer scrutiny of the matter of school-community integration. The educational ideology of that country was put forward in (former Pres.) Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance (1967), a paper outlining the objectives of education in Tanzania, a new country aspiring toward socialism. The plan called for a qualitative change in policy with relevance of education being all-important and the emphasis being put on cooperative endeavor (the ujamaa socialist outlook), not personal advancement (Nyerere, ed. by Omari 1980:68). The central thrust of the new approach was that the school should be drawn into a relationship of close interdependence with the surrounding village or community, so that each can serve the other as a resource and means of support. Carr-Hill (1984:52) mentions that there was enthusiastic participation by the community in the development of primary education, as evidenced in the micro-planning exercise in Songea rural district. Here the people were said to be keen to build classrooms through self-help, and about 75 percent of the value of the buildings and furniture was attributable to support from the local community. However, while parents provided important physical input, the fact that the curricula and the final examinations were centrally decided eliminated flexibility and inhibited community influence on what went on in the school. A Ph.D. research project on 140 schools in three districts concluded that not a single

school had a syllabus that was made substantially or partially with representatives from the community, nor was there any conscious, purposive or functional interaction between the school and community (Ishumi 1974, cit. in Carr-Hill 1984:52-53).

Another branch of the thrust of community-school development which was included in the Tanzanian Second Five Year Plan for 1969-1974 is found in the Community Education Centres, a plan to make primary schools into education centers for the community. The idea was inspired by the Litowa experiment (1961), a village school built in a settlement and developed as a response to the needs of the community. The first of such centers was at Kwamsisi, where school activities ranged from a banana and pineapple garden and a latrine-digging project to setting up poultry units and building a cooperative shop (Tosh 1974 and Moshi 1976, cit. in Carr-Hill 1984:53). Bacchus also refers to the Kwamsisi Project and notes that in spite of its success, the structure of the larger society still imposed an important constraint on the school's achieving its objective. Namely, many parents were very worried that their children's active involvement in activities tied to community interests and needs, would adversely affect their chances of gaining entry to a secondary school (Bacchus 1982:9-10). Carr-Hill reports being impressed by another such Community Education Centre in the Morogoro District, only to later temper his praise after noting the extent of outside resources being pumped in by the Ministry. He concludes on a rather pessimistic note that despite "rhetoric of participation," involvement of the community appears - with a few isolated exceptions - to be limited to contributing labor (Carr-Hill 1984:53-54). The same was concluded in the main for Sri Lanka and its Small Schools Programme: the schools booking more success were those which had been given special attention, for example in the form of a special 'Workshop.' Even these successes, however, did not carry much momentum of their own when outside resources and attention were phased out.

Looking at a case study carried out by Wandi in Tanzania (1983), it is interesting to see his list of the ways in which the community participates to help the school and how the pupils help to develop the

community. The list he provides is in fact disappointing and amounts to little more than the kinds of items listed in Sri Lanka for the School Development Societies or the activities of School Week. Such types of community participation are found in many developing countries - not just those making concerted efforts to involve the community through an ideology of strong national commitment to transformation, as was the case for Tanzania. They are often associated with the Parent-Teacher Associations of School Committees (see e.g. examples below from the Sudan and New Guinea), but rarely does such participation go deeper than manual contributions to school upkeep. The most frequently occurring item on the community list provided by Wandi is attending meetings, followed by giving working tools, attending adult classes, contributing toward equipment and "service to the school." Later down the list come building new classrooms, repairing buildings and working on the school farm (Wandi 1983:61). From the side of the children's contributions to the community, teaching adults, helping on national occasions, working in village projects and participating in national campaigns head the list (Wandi 1983:62), all of which are fairly common in Sri Lanka and in other developing countries, as seen in the literature.

In an article on community financing of schools in less developed countries, Bray makes an evaluation of how far the communities should and/or can go in taking over some of the government's financial supportive responsibilities. He makes reference to Kenya's harambee schools (meaning 'let's pull together,' volunteer schools), saying that it should not be assumed that this strategy can be emulated everywhere; nor should schools be starved of government funds on the assumption that communities will necessarily bridge the gaps (Bray 1986:178). He also notes several reports which criticize the harambee schools as being "quite often of abysmally low quality in both relative and absolute terms" (Wellings cit. in Bray 1986:175). The conclusion is that there is a need for guidance and controls, which should also be sufficiently flexible so as not to stifle initiative (Bray 1986:178). In other words, counting on a community to develop its own school is pushing one side of the reciprocal school-community development idea too far, though initiatives from the community should be encouraged.

Another example of local community participation in education is provided by Lyons in his case study of a remote district of the Sudan. Parents' Councils are said to be active in raising money for the school and in providing labor for the maintenance of school buildings and furniture. Lyons concludes, however, that the Parents' Councils could also be used for making visual aids, for example, and could become more involved in the educational process. According to him this might enhance integration of school and community and ultimately increase the role of the school as an agent of change in the community - a situation which is not presently the case (Lyons 1981:287-289).

Two remote schools in Papua New Guinea emerged as relatively successful examples in Apelis' research. In one, which had declined in quality in previous years, there was now good cooperation between the staff members and the Board of Management. This school was one of the few encountered in the study in which community leaders came forward to discuss plans and problems. The other school had a good reputation among provincial inspectors and administrators as well as in the school community. Here school projects included the building of classrooms and teachers' houses (Apelis 1979:45). These New Guinea examples bear resemblances to the 'promising' schools of the author's Sri Lankan study, where positive community integration was evident.

An example of experiments in school gardens in Madagascar is reported by Milou. Here the purpose was to promote agriculture at the school, which would set an example in the community and eventually enhance community production. The Ministry of Agriculture and two other funding sources supplied seeds, materials and advice to 147 rural schools. Although there were a few schools with moderate success stories, an evaluation stated that the project was carried out to greatly varying degrees in the schools, and there were few gardens which were really worthy of the name. Most suffered from a lack of means to cope with insects or plant diseases as well as the problem of how to continue the gardening during vacation periods (Milou 1971:22-23). Such an experiment is reminiscent of the attempted, but later abandoned, school farm in the author's participant observation village, and the meager degrees of cultivation the premises of the thirty village schools.

In reporting his case study of a Burmese village school, Nash (1970:308) states that there is little community support for the school, in spite of the fact that the teacher has tried to get the people to make contributions. Summarizing the study he notes that local schools tend to be conservative agents, unable to bring about change. "It is a function of the economic and social development to make the school and the educational system a locus and agent of social change, not the other way around" (Nash 1970:313).

In Rao's dry village of southern India, political factionalism within the village prevents functioning of the School Management Committee. In this case the committee "exists only in name as none of the members have ever attended any of its meetings as a group...It functions as a one-man committee with the headmaster drawing up the minutes of a meeting that never takes place in order to keep the officials in Mandy satisfied." Rao tells that the headmaster, as a result, has adopted an indifferent attitude toward promoting school-community relations. He fears playing a partisan role between the two factions (Rao 1985:243). (A similar situation was found in one of the Sri Lankan case studies, Walas Ara, though the strong leadership of the principal was able to pull the feuding groups together for school-community projects; see Baker 1988:184.) The thrust of Rao's total research is that formal education does not foster rural development in the village of Dalena, rather it perpetuates and reinforces the existing socio-economic order (Rao 1985:281).

Hoppers researched a disadvantaged Zambian district and found that the educational system with its selection function, its teacher-centered methods of learning and its less relevant subjects, favored the isolation of school from community (1980:142). He concludes that the school is a poor agent of change in local norms and values. He further ventures the hypothesis that lack of development of an area contributes to the poverty of the modern school, the very institution that was to help change the situation (Hoppers 1980:142-143).

A recent study by Kiros regarding education for rural development in the district of Welmera in Ethiopia concludes that the main effect of formal education seems to have been "to pave a way for movement of the 'educated' away from the rural area" (Kiros 1985:134). In spite of exposure of the rural population to many new influences, traditional social beliefs and attitudes continue to prevail in Welmera (1985:135). In the same vein, another study of education and integrated rural development, this time in India, reported that the findings provided no evidence to confirm that formal education, measured in years of schooling, was associated with socio-economic variables such as family's health status, the number of children, and the practice of family planning methods (Seetharamu 1985:178). On a more positive note, however, a study of four Bangladesh villages - published in the same book on education and integrated rural development in which Kiros' and Seetharamu's case studies were found, see above - provides an interesting finding. In the villages with (relatively) high literacy there were consistently lower degrees of inequality, with respect to eight selected variables, than in all the studied villages. The authors conclude that literacy is a strong factor for social and economic equalization in a rural setting (Qadir and Balaghatullah 1985:225). If rural development implies a more equal distribution of available wealth and resources, then formal schooling has made its contribution to these communities.

Looking back at the history of education in developing countries, the 1970s abounded in community-based participatory projects and cooperative self-help programs of rural transformation. Unesco-Unicef presented a dossier in two parts of over twenty such projects (1978), and similarly Unesco-Apeid listed programs (1980) from nine countries where the focus was concentrated on training methodologies based on locally available learning resources. As good as the intentions may have been, such participatory projects - like the Sri Lanka Small Schools Programme - usually met with limited, relatively short-term success, and the surge of the micro-projects with elements for community-school development had diminished considerably by the 1980s. The net contribution of school to community and community to school seems to remain at marginal levels.

Conclusions.

There has been much written about education fostering (rural) community development, and there have been many participatory projects which experimented in this broad area. Tanzania is an example of a country which even took radical steps to integrate schools with their respective communities in order to foster rural development. But in spite of the great amount of attention and the many attempts in this direction, the author's Sri Lankan and Senegalese studies as well as examples drawn from the literature - including research in Tanzania - tend to show that successes are small. There is very little empirical evidence to link formal schooling in disadvantaged areas with community development in the sense of increased agrarian output, improved health, nutrition and housing, more equitable access to land and water, creation of new employment, or other such indicators. Village factionalism and traditional attitudes can serve as inhibiting forces; but more commonly, perceived shortcomings have been a matter of unrealistically high expectations of schools in deprived areas. In a setting where economic development has scarcely commenced, the village school cannot serve as a primary motor for advancement. It can - and does - in the more effectively functioning schools - serve to enhance the development of individuals, providing them with literacy, numeracy and varied kinds of general knowledge, relevant or less relevant to their daily lives. Some of these individuals reach positions in which they can help their villages, through connections or through their own investments. The community, from its side, has shown in many case studies that it is willing and able, if properly encouraged and motivated, to support the school in diverse ways, most often through labor contributions. The Sri Lankan research made it evident that dedicated principals can make the most of the supportive potential in the community, and their schools are the most promising in terms of developing human resources for the village.

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